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THE 'SCHOOL'S OPEN' SIGN MAY REALLY COME TRUE
Virginia's classrooms may soon lose their ghostly silence as a result of court rulings, and these Charlottesville children may not have to be on the outside looking in. For the story, see p. 3.

KENNEDY & JOHNSON STEAL A MARCH

Toothless civil rights, labor bill with teeth take Senate spotlight

CIVIL RIGHTS and labor legislation moved stage-front as the 86th Congress, its cast fully assigned their committee posts and rules debates out of the way, settled down to the business of passing the nation's laws.

Almost as a curtain-raiser, Lyndon Johnson, the quick-drawing Texas rancher who doubles as Senate Majority Leader, left his audience gasping by introducing a measure which he labeled a civil rights bill. The Johnson proposals seemed calculated to embarrass the President by stealing his lines, preempt the field which liberal civil rights advocates hoped to occupy with their own bill, and give the country the appearance but not the reality of progress on the vital question of guaranteeing Negro equality.

LIGHT PACKAGE: The Majority Leader's bill would:

- Give the Attorney General power to subpena documents in cases involving the violation of voting rights.
- Provide for Federal investigation of and penalties for the transportation of explosives across state borders to be used in hate bombings.
- Extend the life of the Civil Rights Commission beyond its scheduled expiration date next September to January 31, 1961.
- Establish a Federal Conciliation Service to mediate the differences between contending parties in civil rights disputes.

There was little disposition to criticize the Johnson proposals on their face. But liberals were quick to point out that the package, while all right in its way, just didn't weigh enough. Americans for Democratic Action called it "a typical Johnson compromise, scratching the political surface of the civil rights problem and carefully refraining from digging down to its heart—school desegregation."

The additional powers vested in the Justice Dept. were moderate advances and would provoke no serious opposition, even among the most fanatical Dixiecrats. On the record thus far, prolonging the life of the Civil Rights Commission could only mean its extended impotence.

ABSENCE OF TEETH: Johnson predict-

(Continued on Page 4)

San Francisco Chronicle
Filibuster reform sails off

NOW YOU SEE IT, NOW YOU DON'T

'Balanced' budget tips the balance for arms

By Victor Perlo

NOBODY BELIEVES the President's budget estimate that spending in the fiscal year 1960 will total only $77 billion. Few believe his estimate that budget receipts will jump $9 billion to balance outlays.

Mr. Eisenhower calls critics of the budget "schizophrenic." But rarely was a budget so obviously manipulated. The motive is not wholly clear. Perhaps Ike wants to go down in history as the man who kept his campaign promise to balance the budget. Probably the Republicans want to blame a Democratic Congress for unbalancing it.

THE TRICKS: All this is rather unimportant. Few votes will be changed in 1960 by such petty trickery. But people may miss the real points of the budget by concentration on this question. This is what the manipulations amount to:

- The President is asking Congress to legislate an additional $1.4 billion U.S. contribution to the International Monetary Fund. He assumes this will be passed and paid before June 30, thus falling in fiscal 1959's spending, making 1960's total correspondingly less. This is a dubious assumption and, in any case, not a real change in spending.
- He counts on a hoped-for sale of $700 million of government assets as receipts. Actually this would be an underpaid give-away of government oil lands and other valuable properties to private interests.
- He makes bookkeeping transfers of expenses out of the budget, and of receipts into the budget.
- He makes super-optimistic assumptions of rapid recovery, stable prices and low interest costs.
- He assumes cuts in Congressional spending, which are politically impossible, and net revenue additions which are unlikely.

MORE FOR ARMS: As has become the custom, the budget estimates a shade under $41 billion for military defense, toward a total of $45.8 billion for major national security. Both figures are within one per cent of this year's. But national security rises from 57% of the total in fiscal 1959 to 59.5% in fiscal 1960. Since tricks are used to keep down the military figures too, arms spending will rise in dollars as well as in percent.

The estimates of military spending assume not only an end to rising prices, but that labor productivity in weapons' production will rise, and that the manu-

(Continued on Page 10)

In this issue

THE VIRGINIA STORY
By Louis E. Burnham . . p. 3
FRONDIZI'S SELL-OUT
By Kumar Goshal . . . . . p. 5
LET'S TALK NOW!
Editorial statement . . p. 5
EUROPE FOR PEACE
By Cedric Belfrage. . . . p. 6
NKRUMAH'S GHANA
Ursula Wassermann. . . p. 7
'THE POWER ELITE'
By John T. McManus . . p. 8

THEY CHAMPION EQUAL RIGHTS

Braden and Wilkinson convicted

CARL BRADEN and Frank Wilkinson were found guilty of contempt of the House Committee on Un-American Activities on Jan. 21 and 22. They were tried in U.S. District Court in Atlanta.

Braden, an active integrationist, and Wilkinson, a civil liberties leader, had refused to answer questions of the committee on the ground that it violates fundamental rights of privacy guaranteed by the First Amendment to the Constitution. Both were freed under bond pending appeal.

Braden had also accused the committee of using its position to harass people working for integration in the South. Two of the three members of the committee that quizzed Braden and Wilkinson last July are Southern Democrats. Braden and his wife Anne are field secretaries and editors for the Southern Conference Educational Fund, an organization dedicated to ending segregation.

FOR ABOLITION: Wilkinson was represented at his trial by Rowland Watts, New York, general counsel for the American Civil Liberties Union. Braden is represented by John M. Coe, Pensacola, Fla.; Bishop C. Ewbank Tucker of the A.M.E. Zion Church; Leonard B. Boudin, New York civil liberties lawyer, and Conrad J. Lynn, New York civil rights attorney and NAACP leader.

In a joint statement the Bradens said in part: "We do not feel that we are ever going to be able to achieve integration until we re-establish the American principles of free speech and free thought and free assembly.

"It is our belief that we can remove the pall of fear and regain an atmosphere of confidence and free inquiry in America only be re-establishing the concept that no governmental agency can pry into the private thoughts and lives of private citizens. This is a concept that is written into our Bill of Rights.

"To answer the questions of the Un-American Committee, even under protest, is to concede it right to ask them, to admit its right to regulate belief and association. It is to cooperate in the thing that has weakened our democratic processes. If we do not oppose it, we are strengthening it."

THE MAIL BAG

These are democrats?

OAKLAND, CALIF.

Anyone who was witness to the actions of the Hungarians and other refugees at the San Francisco International Airport to meet Soviet Deputy Premier Mikoyan has been given plenty to think about.

In attacking and breaking up two smaller groups of demonstrators who carried placards welcoming Mikoyan and calling for international friendship and peace, the Hungarians revealed several important things: The skilled and organized manner in which the attacks were carried out; the intolerance displayed against those who disagree with them; their efforts to overturn the cars of the Russian party and seize their occupants; the fact that such violence is allowed to take place at all.

Immigrants of this kind are protected, but other foreign-born are persecuted under the Walter-McCarran law.

Anybody who still has illusions that the 1956 Hungarian coup was for the purpose of establishing "democracy" should observe these democrats in action.

R. M.

See Spectator, p. 12

Bye-bye blacklist

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

"Two hundred and thirty four guerrillas had been hiding out in the hills for 11 years. During this trying time the plainsmen from the village fed them and kept them supplied. And now that the siege has begun to break for the screen-writers of this brave band of writers, actors and directors, I wish to show my gratitude to the plainsmen of this, the First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles, by being with you today that we may share our joy together."

The burst of applause from the congregation this Sunday morning of January 18, 1959, was electrically spontaneous, as it was also from our guest speaker, Dalton "Robert Rich" Trumbo; he applauded us right back.

After this exciting church service, made memorable by the presence of this courageous leader of the guerrillas, Mr. Trumbo stood with our ministers in the receiving line to feel through the clasped hand, as well as words spoken, the happiness we felt for him.

Thus cracketh the blacklist!

David Seidman

Screen credits

LOS GATOS, CALIF.

I was glad to see you give proper credit (12/13/58) to the producer, director, actors and composer of the score of **The Right to Live.** You even mentioned them by name. But I would never know from your review that there had been a screenplay and that a writer had written it.

This is bad for two reasons. As you should know, Hollywood screen writers had to fight many years to get screen credit, which not only gave them recognition but enabled them to derive deserved economic benefits from it. Furthermore, by ignoring the writer you do little to encourage other writers to undertake similarly honest subjects. Writers need recognition in other than monetary terms.

Arthur Strawn

Screen play by Nelson Gidding and Don Mankiewicz.—Ed.

Disagreement

WASHINGTON, D.C.

I completely disagree with you that the passage of Sen. Lyndon Johnson's amendment to Rule 22 leaves the filibuster unchanged. I accompanied the delegation from the Southern Conference and heard Sen. Johnson's explanation of what could be achieved as an alternative to achieving nothing and I think his victory a great achievement for which all liberals should be very grateful.

Your assumption that it changes nothing rests upon two hypotheses:

1. That any debate on civil rights would bring out the entire Senate membership. I supposed that the success of filibusters in the past was precisely because it did not.

2. You assume that both Senators from 17 states are, and always will be, ready to die rather than allow American citizens their constitutional rights. Seventeen would require not only the Deep South but Florida and some of the border states. I do not believe that the record supports this assumption.

Margaret A. Fellows

The Tandaric case

CHICAGO, ILL.

On Jan. 12 the Supreme Court refused to review the deportation case of Steve Tandaric. This man of 51, brought to this country at the age of 3 by his parents, is now subject to deportation to Yugoslavia at the discretion of the Immigration Service.

The only break in his 46 years of continuous residence in the U.S. were two years in which he served as a volunteer in the army of the Spanish Republic against the fascist intervention led by Franco. From this incident arises the technicality upon which his deportation order is based.

The 13-year effort of the Immigration Service to deport Tandaric is in startling contrast to the policies pursued in the case of Andrija Artukovic, whose extradition as a war criminal was sought by the Yugoslav government. Artukovic served as Minister of the Interior under Ante Pavelic, Nazi quisling of Croatia, and was charged with ordering the mass murders of some 200,000 Jews, Serbs, Gypsies and orthodox priests in 1941-1942.

A U.S. Immigration Commissioner ruled recently that Artukovic was not subject to extradition; nor has the Immigration Service initiated deportation proceedings, despite the fact that Artukovic entered the U.S. illegally, under a false identity.

The technical violation committed by Tandaric was miniscule compared to that of Artukovic. His record as a long-time resident of Munster, Ind., where he lives with and helps support his mother and sister, is without blemish or suspicion of moral turpitude—unless his convictions as a "premature" anti-fascist and active unionist are to be so classified.

Surely, Tandaric is entitled to a small portion of that discretionary bounty which the Immigration Service has heaped upon a Hitlerite quisling and wartime enemy.

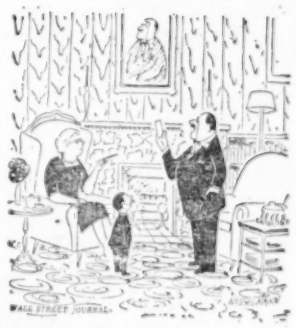
May I strongly urge GUARDIAN readers to write immediately to Atty. Gen. Wm. P. Rogers, Justice Dept., Washington, D.C., urging that the deportation order against Steve Tandaric be dropped.

(Rev.) William T. Baird

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

Soviet Russia has little, except gold, to sell this country to pay for things she needs.
—U.S. News & World Report, 1/23

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: F.A.S., Torrance, Calif.



Wall Street Journal

"Hmm! Geography up one and an eighth—spelling off two and three quarters . . ."

Bookay

NEW YORK, N.Y.

My usual complaint is about the difficulty we have in getting our serious Left books reviewed in the commercial press. Now we have an unusual—but somewhat pleasant—beef: in the pages of the GUARDIAN our books get reviewed before they are off the press! Thanks very much for the Gordon Schaffer review in your issue of Dec. 29 of Prof. J. D. Bernal's new book, **World Without War.**

Schaffer reviewed the English edition; our American edition of what your reviewer called "a massive piece of work" will be published on March 25. The list price will be $5 but until publication date GUARDIAN readers can get the book at the prepublication price of $3.

Leo Huberman
Monthly Review Press
66 Barrow St.

Grubstakes required

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Fired by the frontier appraisal of Alaska in the Dec. 15 GUARDIAN, I took your advice and ordered a fact book and employment sheet from Washington, D.C.

The material turned out rather discouraging, emphasizing housing and job opportunity shortages in the major cities, combined with living costs 25%-56% higher than in such places as Seattle, Wash. Admonitions about migrating unless "well-equipped financially" and recommendations that "a definite job commitment should be secured before coming" were numerous and foreboding.

Cynthia Speare

Greeting

NEW YORK, N.Y.

I must thank you for the beautiful job you are all performing in the GUARDIAN, which continues to be a constant source of pleasure to me. Greetings to all, as we break into the new year.

Sadie Van Veen

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

ON JAN. 20 PRESIDENT TRUMAN in his Inaugural called for "a bold new program for making the benefits of our scientific advancement and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas."

Last week his new and highly polished Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, took some of the bloom off the President's promise. He said that the contemplated operation would be a "two-way street." He told newsmen that any foreign country which wanted American capital would have to create conditions under which "investors may fairly put their money." It was not yet clear just what price the world's "underdeveloped areas" would have to pay for the President's "bold new program."

—National Guardian, Jan. 31, 1949

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Vol. 11, No. 16 — 401 — February 2, 1959

REPORT TO READERS

Eight a.m. D.S.T.

OUR MOST ESTEEMED COLLEAGUES and Comrades-in-Publishing—Liberty Book Club—have taken a giant step in an indubitably right direction, and we propose to do all in our power to insure that it is a successful step.

They have converted from a hardcover, $3-&-up policy to $1 paperbacks (see p. 9), and will depart as fast as time and tide permit from a general policy of reprints to one of original works, commissioned to deal with the specific problems and prospects of a nation in transition. Free for members (and for the general public at 35c a copy, $2 a year) they have founded a bi-monthly periodical, **Promethean Review**, from Vol. 1 No. 1 of which we have excerpted the following portions of their "Credo for Publishing," to give you the compass course of their "giant step." They say:

THIS IS THE TWILIGHT of imperialism and concomitantly, early morning for socialism; say, eight o'clock, daylight saving time. It is the era of explicit co-existence, of the acceptance of socialism and capitalism, of a great rearguard action of imperialism marked by sharp and severe struggles. It is also a period when general nuclear war may be impossible to achieve by even the most irresponsible groups and individuals.

"This new epoch, which needs to be thought about and characterized, is comparable in magnitude and scope to that which began in 1914-18, when a shift took place in the world from an imperialism in full bloom to one that had reached its climax and was beginning to decline . . .

"In the same way, we are at the climax of the colonial liberation movement, and at a stage in the economic development of socialism where the prospect of building a communist society is palpable.

"Because of the lack of clarity in seeing this new period in perspective and to be at ease within it, the Left can develop no coherent program or organizational structure which would carry with it that authority which a correct approach always carries, where the very correctness of the analysis evident to all intelligent persons, imposes that analysis on them by the moral authority of reason. It is therefore of the essence to clarify, and clarify and clarify!

"This process of clarification must be intimately related to the events around us. We need theoretical studies and we need means of popularizing and spreading what is found and what is observed. We need, moreover, an organization which helps to get original work done and distributed . . ."

THE LIBERTY EDITORS, Angus Cameron and Carl Marzani, conceive Liberty Book Club as the organization to get the original work done and distributed, but we of the GUARDIAN have a notion of our own:

We—the GUARDIAN and its readers—should be the vehicle to get things moving. We reach out, among us, into every state and major community in our country, up and down the rural routes, the star routes and every which way. We are the people who have dedicated ourselves to helping change the political climate of our country to one in which progressive and forward-moving concepts might flourish. Now come Liberty's Prometheans with the offer of sturdy new tools to help with the job, and at a new low price which lets everyone swing a hammer. Should we not all start swinging, right now? If we did, the new Promethean venture could be an overnight success, as it deserves to be.

The first Promethean Paperback, now on the presses, is a full 432-pp. reprint of C. Wright Mills' **The Power Elite** (see p. 8). Then will come two new works, and the first paperback edition of one of Liberty Book Club's most applauded selections, now out of print, **The Scalpel, The Sword.** The first new work will be the first publication in this country of the new novel, **Retreat from Innocence,** by the young British writer Doris Lessing, a staff member of the **New Reasoner,** who has been called by critics "the best of the angry young men." The second new book will be the first of the "commissioned" works, **Prosperity in Crisis** by Dr. Joseph M.. Gillman, a Marxist critique of bourgeois theories of crisis, including the Keynesian, Stracheyan, etc.

YOU CAN READ THE REST of the prospectus in the **Promethean Review,** along with a sprightly article by Eve Merriam about a man who couldn't look at himself in the mirror; a discussion of **Doctor Zhivago** by Angus Cameron from a viewpoint we haven't encountered before; and many other good things.

We urge all to climb aboard the 8 a.m. DST Promethean Special.

—THE GUARDIAN

TOKEN INTEGRATION OR NO SCHOOLS?

Showdown due in Virginia as courts say 'open up!'

By Louis E. Burnham

AFTER TWO YEARS of trial, Virginia's network of laws designed to provide a legal bulwark against school integration were declared a massive error on Jan. 19. In separate actions, the Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals and a three-judge Federal tribunal virtually wiped the slate clean. For Virginia and other Southern states that looked to her for leadership, this foreshadowed a new approach to the U.S. Supreme Court mandate that the states may not enforce segregation in public education.

There was no denying the impact of the rulings. One Norfolk paper called them a "one-two-punch," anoth dubbed Jan. 19 the "day of doom" for "massive resistance."

HE ASKED FOR IT: The state court ruling was particularly significant. Gov. J. Lindsay Almond had asked for it: he had instructed his attorney-general Albertis S. Harrison Jr., to test the laws in the state courts. Obviously, "massive resistance" would be strengthened if validated by the Commonwealth's own judiciary; and any retreat required by an adverse decision would not be under a cloud of knuckling to outside (that is, Federal) pressure.

The governor got what he asked for—and more. The Virginia court struck down the key enactment in the resistance plan, a law for the automatic closing of any integrated school. It also wiped out:

- A law withholding state aid from any community operating an integrated school.

Jet Magazine

- A provision for tuition grants for the private education of students assigned to integrated schools.
- A law empowering the Governor to shut down permanently any school policed by Federal authority.

REINFORCEMENT: Under the school-closing law 13,000 children had been shut out of nine schools in Norfolk, Charlottesville and Front Royal since last September. The decision in the Federal case, brought by a group of white parents in Norfolk, reinforced the state ruling. The Federal judges held that "no one public school or grade in Virginia may be closed to avoid the effect of the law of the land as interpreted by the Supreme Court, while the state permits other public schools or grades to remain open at the expense of the taxpayers."

While the Federal court ruling was based on the "equal protection of the laws" clause of the 14th Amendment, the State Supreme Court relied exclusively on the Virginia constitution. The state contended that since the U.S. Supreme Court's 1954 ruling had voided Section 140 of the state constitution requiring separate education for Negroes and whites, the state was thereby relieved of the responsibility to "maintain an efficient system of public free schools" as provided in Section 129. The reasoning was that an integrated system could not possibly be efficient.

When Virginia's highest court rejected this argument in its 5-2 decision, the keystone of the "massive resistance" structure had been toppled.

NEW ASSAULT: But the end of total defiance did not mean the beginning of integration. In a speech that was a succession of oratorical flourishes, Gov. Almond launched a new radio and TV assault against the Federal government. "Be not dismayed by the recent judicial deliverances," he urged Virginians. "With determination more relentless than ever before . . . we have just begun to fight."

Almond then called a special session of the General Assembly for Jan. 28 to review the integration crisis and devise new hold-the-line legislation.

Assorted segregationists were offering a variety of proposals. The Richmond **New Leader** raised its patrician voice against Section 129, the free public school provision of the constitution: "Let it go!" It became increasingly apparent that among the die-hard opponents of integration there was a hard core that had never become reconciled to universal education at public expense. They were using the segregation issue as a weapon to dismantle the public school system.

WAY OUT? But it would take more than a year to amend the constitution; the resisters needed an interim plan. The same State court which ruled against "massive resistance" suggested what that plan might be. The court said that tuition grants were permissible so long as they are made from a special fund unrelated to the segregation controversy. The **News Leader** proposed that the Assembly pare appropriations for public schools to a minimum, set up a special fund for tuition grants in "private" schools and ease accrediting procedures for the new jimcrow institutions. It foresaw a bit of integration in some public schools during the changeover but happily looked forward to wiping that out as soon as the common schools could be abandoned.

Others saw the solution of Virginia's problem in the enforcement of its pupil placement law and pointed to the examples of North Carolina, Tennessee and Alabama. In the first two states, while resistance has not been total, integration has been a mere token; in Alabama, the law, upheld by the Supreme Court as valid on its face, has kept all Negro children out of white schools.

HOW IT'S DONE: The placement laws permit the barring of Negro applicants, not on the ground of race, but on almost every other conceivable basis: health, home environment, personal and moral standards; suitability and adequacy for enrollment in a particular school, and the threat of friction, disorder and breaches of the peace, or economic retaliation resulting from the transfer.

Under these laws class suits are impermissible; each case must be handled separately. Unless they are voided by the Federal courts they could postpone real integration for years or decades.

Virginia's segregationists have not been without opposition in the state. Most of this has come from parents and teachers, church and civic groups in the area where schools have been closed and in Fairfax and Arlington counties, across the Potomac from Washington, D.C.

Prior to the court decisions the Norfolk City Council adopted a resolution cutting off funds from all schools above the sixth grade. This action would add 7,200 students—2,000 white and 5,200 Negro—to the city's 10,000 school-less children. Immediately after the Council action a group of white parents asked the Federal court for an injunction against further school or grade closings. The court, at a hearing set for Jan. 26, was expected to rule in their favor.

PAYING THE PRICE: Paul Schweitzer, chairman of the Norfolk School Board, responded to the Jan. 19 decisions with the announcement that closed schools would be reopened "at the earliest practicable date." In Charlottesville and Front Royal school officials consulted with their lawyers and withheld comment. In Arlington, where four Negro students have been ordered admitted to a white junior high school for the first time, parents feared the Governor, shorn of the fig-leaf of legality which the "massive resistance laws provided, might use the naked police power of the state to close the affected school.

Business leaders in Norfolk warned that abandonment of the public schools would lead to economic ruin. They foresaw the shift of U.S. government personnel from the Navy base on which the city's economy largely depends. Educators, contesting Gov. Almond's assertion that the private tutoring classes conducted in churches, synagoguges and private homes since September was satisfactory and should be continued, pointed to these defects: No libraries, no music, no shops, no science laboratories, no physical education, no school spirit.

Feb. 2 would mark the beginning of the new term in Virginia schools. It would almost certainly also be a day of confusion. Meanwhile, no single Negro student had enjoyed the benefits assured him by the decision, now nearly five years old, banning jimcrow in the nation's schools. And 10,000 white children enjoyed no proper schooling at all.

Strange as it seemed, Virginia seemed willing to go on paying the price for white supremacy and the nation seemed powerless to stop its retreat to massive ignorance.

Berkeley Negro History Week celebration to be held Feb. 7

SPONSORED by the Independent Voters of California, a Negro History Week celebration will be held on Feb. 7 at the South Berkeley Community Church, 1802 Fairview, Berkeley, Calif. Following the showing of an African film, representatives of the NAACP, YMCA, and the Parent-Teachers Assn. will discuss "The Path to Integration." Audience participation will be a feature of the panel discussion. Refreshments will be served at the admission-free event.

THE KLAN IN NORTH CAROLINA
School opens in Greensboro, 1958

CITIZENS SUPPORT PETITION

Denver Smith Act defendants appeal to Supreme Court

DENVER

SEVEN SMITH ACT defendants here, facing retrial, petitioned the Supreme Court on Jan. 22 for a review of their 1954 indictments and asked that their second trial be delayed until the petition is acted upon. Their original conviction was reversed by a Court of Appeals last year.

The move to the Supreme Court grew out of an appeal to the Tenth Circuit Court of Appeals here in mid-January, as the new trial was about to open. The defense challenged the validity of the indictments on grounds that they still contain charges found unconstitutional by the Supreme Court in 1957 in the California Yates case and later by the Tenth Circuit Court of Appeals specifically in the Denver case.

A three-judge Circuit Court bench denied the appeal on Jan. 17, but presiding Judge Alfred P. Murrah dissented, holding the indictments "palpably and fundamentally defective." The Circuit Court agreed to delay start of the new trial to Jan. 26.

The appeal to the Supreme Court was taken by Prof. Austin W. Scott, court-appointed counsel who is a law professor at Colorado University.

CITIZENS APPEAL: The defendants got their biggest boost in the press here Jan. 16 when 58 leading Colorado citizens signed a petition appealing to Attorney-General William E. Rogers to drop the case. The signers included professors from several universities, clergymen, lawyers, writers, union leaders and heads of several organizations, including Quaker groups.

The petitioners said that further prosecution "will work very special hardship on those defendants who no longer live in Colorado and are in straitened circumstances." The defendants, only two of whom are still members of the Communist Party, are Anna Correa, Denver; Lewis Johnson, Roxbury, Mass.; Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Scherrer, New York; Arthur Bary, San Jose, Calif.; Patricia Blau, El Paso, Tex.; and Harold Zepelin, Denver.

Al Fisher going to prison

THE SUPREME COURT last month refused to hear an appeal by West Coast unionist Al Fisher from his conviction for falsely swearing to a Taft-Hartley non-Communist oath. Fisher must now begin serving a five-year prison term.

He was arrested in June, 1954, when he was an officer of the CIO Intl. Woodworkers of America. He was tried in Seattle and sentenced in January, 1955, to five years. A year later a Court of Appeals overturned the verdict and ordered a new trial. On March 21, 1957, he was again convicted and re-sentenced. A year later the Court of Appeals upheld the conviction. On Nov. 24, 1958, the Supreme Court refused to hear an appeal, and now has denied a motion for a rehearing.

Fisher, active in the trade union movement since the Thirties, was convicted

on the evidence of Harley Mores who, under cross examination, could not remember the ages of his children or the year he moved to the state but could place Fisher as a Communist on exact dates.

Said Fisher: "The fight is really just beginning. Taft-Hartley must go—and go it will when the working people unite and make their voices heard."

Senate spotlight

(Continued from Page 1)

ed that his bill would be passed without a filibuster. The N.Y. **Herald Tribune** affirmed his judgment with the comment that "no Southerner would waste his ammunition of unending oratory on such a puny target."

Introducing the bill, Johnson was frank about its limitations. He deplored "punitive" legislation in the civil rights field, he said. He had an answer to the Negro's complaint that after 96 years of freedom he should at least enjoy statutory recognition of equal citizenship: "Rome was not built in a day."

Tipoff of the toothless character of the Johnson bill was the conciliation proposal. The service would be an independent Federal agency headed by a director and five regional assistants, appointed by the President and subject to Senate approval.

In such a stalemate as exists in Little Rock the job of the mediators would be to move between state officials and the Negro principals until an acceptable compromise could be worked out. The Administration, in other words, would be convincing Negroes to concede some part of the rights they have gained through court decisions rather than enforcing the court decrees.

JOHNSON'S INNING: However inadequate the bill in the eyes of civil rights advocates, it was a tactical victory for Johnson. Sen. Thomas C. Hennings Jr. (D-Mo.), chairman of the Constitutional Rights Subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee, was quick to add his name as a co-sponsor. Even the veteran Emanuel Celler (D-N.Y.), House Judiciary Committee chairman, called it a "step in the right direction," as Johnson emphasized that it was as big a move as the nation was able to make at the moment.

Additional civil rights initiative was expected to come from the bipartisan liberal group headed by Sens. Jacob K. Javits (R-N.Y.) and Paul H. Douglas (D-Ill.). Whenever the liberals' bill reaches the floor of Congress it is expected to include the controversial Section III which was eliminated from the Civil Rights Act of 1957. This Section gives the government special enforcement powers in school desegregation and other civil rights areas.

Until this provision is thrown into the hopper, the key civil rights question in the nation — Federal enforcement — will not really have been presented to Congress.

THE LABOR BILLS: Second major issue before Congress is "labor reform." The Senate will have a choice of three bills: (1) an Administration measure to be introduced by Sen. Barry Goldwater (R-Ariz.); (2) a bill or bills from Sen. John L. McClellan (D-Ark.) supposedly based on the findings of his rackets investigating committee; (3) a "labor-backed" proposal from Sen. John F. Kennedy (D-Mass.). Companion bills will be introduced in the House.

First in the hopper was Kennedy's bill, on which nine days of hearings were to begin Jan. 27. Kennedy said his bill would make honest men of racketeers or drive them out of the unions. It would, he said, "virtually put Mr. Hoffa and his associates out of business."

These are major provisions of the Kennedy bill:

SEN. BARRY GOLDWATER
Front man for the Administration

- It requires unions to furnish voluminous reports on their finances and a vaguely defined area called "internal processes."
- It makes embezzlement of union funds a Federal offense, bars from union office persons convicted of felonies, and limits to $1,500 the amount a union can lend its leaders at one time.
- It puts under government supervision trusteeships of locals imposed by international unions and limits their duration to 18 months.
- It gives the Secretary of Labor subpena power to conduct investigations of union affairs.
- It prohibits "shakedown picketing" (to collect check-off dues when workers have voted down a union), and extortionate fees for unloading cargo.

TAFT-HARTLEY CHANGES: The bill is an edited version of one Kennedy co-sponsored with former Sen. Irving M. Ives (R-N.Y.) in the last Congress. The Senate passed it 88-1 but it was killed in the House.

At first the Kennedy-Ives proposal was opposed by top leaders of the AFL-CIO. Later they swung to its support when the package was sweetened with provisions revising some sections of the Taft-Hartley law. These changes, which are also in the new version, (1) permit strikers to vote in representation elections even though the company has replaced them; (2) reduce from 30 days to seven the time an employe can wait before joining a union in a plant with a union shop agreement.

The new measure differs basically from the old only in its attempts to meet management objections. It limits the reporting requirements of management to disclosure of payments for labor consultants; payments in excess of $2,500 for persuasion of employes regarding choice of unions, and loans by employers to union officials. Also eliminated in the new version is a provision calling for non-Communist affidavits from employers.

BIG BUSINESS WAITS: Management groups still hedged on their support for Kennedy's bill. They sensed greater opportunities in the other bills. The American Retail Fedn. advocated waiting till the McClellan and Goldwater bills were introduced (within a few weeks). McClellan said he might offer an additional bill to make the transportation unions subject to the anti-trust laws to prevent them from forming a national federation.

The Administration bill was expected to win the favor of the Natl. Assn. of Manufacturers. Before Goldwater agreed to sponsor it, he demanded and got provisions for stiff penalties against unions for failure to comply and severe restrictions against secondary boycott (such as refusal of teamsters to handle cargo from struck plants).

Neither McClellan nor Goldwater contemplated Taft-Hartley changes. Ostensibly they were waiting for a report in April from a nine-member non-government commission set up by the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee to weigh revisions in the Taft-Hartley law.

THE PROSPECTS: The three bills would differ only in degree: each accepted the premise that government control was the answer to charges of corruption in labor. With the AFL-CIO leaders already committed to the Kennedy bill, the only real challenge would come from the independent unions and rank-and-file movements.

Which of the bills, if any, would pass seemed to depend on how the two parties reacted to pressure as they looked to 1960. Last summer the Cabinet met secretly to consider a proposal to re-convene Congress to vote on an Administration labor bill. The Republicans thought it would make good campaign ammunition. According to the N.Y. **Times**, Secy. of Labor Mitchell and former Sen. Knowland killed the idea. The defeat of right-to-work proposals last November (with Knowland himself a victim) testified to the wisdom of the decision.

Behind the executions in Cuba

THE STORY [of Batista's terrorism] is almost too gruesome to be told. I have looked at the torture instruments in police stations [and] seen the mangled bodies of unknown persons being dug up in barracks and the pitiful queues of weeping relatives hoping to identify a loved one who has vanished. I have seen deposits of human fingernails and toenails, yanked out of live victims, and human eyes that were gouged out. It is almost a Buchenwald story, the crimes committed by this clever little dictator so pampered by our State Dept. in both Democratic and Republican days.

—Carleton Beals in **The Nation**, Jan. 24

U.S. READERS got no real idea how Batista's agents—military and police—operated against suspected [Castro] sympathizers. On one occasion, for instance, the bodies of 17 university students were thrown on the Capital's streets from speeding police cars. One of the first common graves located in Oriente Province on Jan. 6 contained 183 half-burned corpses. Impartial medical inspection showed that the majority had been pushed into the hole alive, gasoline poured over all, and the torch applied . . . As one observer put it: ". . . If [Castro] had failed to seize the terrorists, or held them indefinitely for civilian courts to be reorganized—there would have been a wave of mob lynchings all over Cuba, with at least two or three thousand dead by now, instead of two or three hundred, without trial of any kind.

—Drew Pearson, N.Y. **Mirror**, Jan. 23

COMMITTEES NAMED

N.Y. Ind.-Socialist conference on 1960 set for September

NEW YORK'S United Independent-Socialist Committee, the continuing body of the group which mounted the Independent-Socialist state ticket in the last election, has announced a statewide conference in September. The conference will consider electoral prospects for the 1960 Presidential and Congressional elections.

The announcement was made at an all-day meeting of supporters of the 1958 ticket attended by 150 people Jan. 24 at Adelphi Hall, Manhattan. The UISC announced the designation of a special committee to consider 1960 prospects in the meantime.

A program of political action on state legislation, civil rights, civil liberties and peace was presented to the meeting. Special stress was placed on activity to liberalize New York's restrictive election laws to provide independent parties unimpeded access to the state ballot. Plans were discussed for the formation of area committees throughout New York City and State to help carry out political work. The Committee plans to issue a newsletter from its headquarters at 799 Broadway, N.Y.C.

Maltz to address Unitarians in Los Angeles on Feb. 6

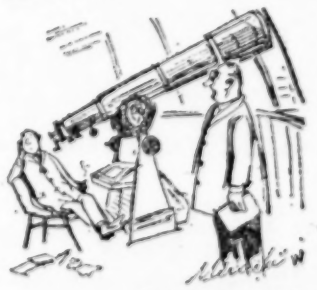
ALBERT MALTZ, author, playwright and screenwriter, will address members of the Unitarian Public Forum in Los Angeles, Feb. 6, on Prison Life and What It Does To Man. Maltz, one of the "Hollywood Ten," served a one-year prison term for contempt of Congress after he and nine other film writers and producers invoked the First Amendment before the House Committee on Un-American Activities. For the past several years he has been living in Mexico.

Admission to the forum, to be held in the auditorium of First Unitarian Church, 2936 W. 8 St., will be $1, and may be obtained in advance or at the box office.

Twin Cities Guardian party

MINNESOTA readers and friends of the GUARDIAN are invited to spend Saturday evening, Jan. 31, at an intimate chamber music concert at the home of Mike Baker, 2012 S. Girard, Minneapolis..

Refreshments will be served. The event will celebrate the start of the eleventh year of continuous publication of the GUARDIAN.



London Evening Standard
Come, come, Morgan! Quit loafing and do some star-gazing!

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LOS ANGELES

UNITARIAN PUBLIC FORUM PRESENTS
ALBERT MALTZ
(Writer—One of the Hollywood 10)
PRISON LIFE AND WHAT IT DOES TO MAN
FRI., FEB. 6 8 P.M.
First Unitarian Church
2936 W. 8 St., L.A.
Adm. $1 Questions

Give This Paper To A Friend

AN EDITORIAL STATEMENT ON U.S.-U.S.S.R. RELATIONS

There's plenty for us to talk about -- let's start!

THERE HAVE BEEN refreshing signs lately that American and Soviet citizens are learning to rub elbows without friction and without a feeling of strangeness. Americans have returned from the Soviet Union with glowing reports of Soviet hospitality and desire for peace. Soviet visitors to the U. S., like Stanislav Menshikov (economist son of Moscow's ambassador to Washington) and choreographer Igor Moiseyev, have told their countrymen of American hospitality and desire for peace.

The press in both countries has treated the visitors for the most part without sensationalism. Of course distinguished visitors get a big play—as did Anastas Mikoyan—but in both countries the press showed remarkable restraint, for example, in reporting the emergency landing of Mikoyan's plane in Newfoundland. There was a time when such an occurrence might have become a major incident.

IT STILL REMAINS to be seen whether the new friendly feeling will lead, at least, to an attempt to negotiate a solution to the two urgent issues emphasized by Mikoyan: the future of Germany and U.S.-Soviet trade. There were faint signs that Mikoyan's visit has dislodged Washington from its immobile attitude on both issues.

On Germany, the Western powers were reported to have scheduled a meeting Feb. 2 to formulate over-due counter-proposals to Moscow's offer on Berlin's future. It is also being generally conceded that the U.S. cannot postpone a high-level East-West meeting more than a few months.

On trade, despite a sharp split in opinion within the Washington Administration, top government agencies are known to be reviewing U.S. policy towards the Soviet Union. Pending further developments, it would be well to bear in mind the minimum conditions for an East-West understanding on these two issues..

TWICE SINCE THE TURN of the century German aggression has precipitated a world war, bringing untold suffering to Germany's neighbors as well as involving the U.S. It must be plain to all but the most insensitive that only a Germany incapable of such aggression will be acceptable to the Soviet Union and the East European countries. And only such a Germany **should** be acceptable to the rest of Europe and the U.S.

Thus far the only sensible plans to insure a peaceful Germany are the Soviet proposal for a confederation of East and West Germany, with West Berlin under UN supervision, and the modified Polish Rapacki plan for a nuclear-free Central Europe and East-West disengagement by stages.

With slight variations, these proposals have been supported by the British Labor Party and by all German opponents of Bonn's Chancellor Adenauer, some of them in his own party. Any Western counter-proposals must match these with a plan for neutralizing Germany just as effectively.

On U.S.-Soviet trade, the desire alone on Moscow's part to expand trade with America should be an indication of its desire for peaceful coexistence. The Russians specifically want to buy U.S. goods and tools to increase their consumer goods supply. This, as Mikoyan noted again and again, threatens no one.

In its foreign trade, Moscow has, in fact, gone out of its way to prove its peaceful intentions. It has, for example, exported aluminum—on the list of strategic goods banned by the U.S. for export—in such quantities that it has been accused of dumping. Benzine cannot be sold to the Soviet Union without a validated license, but Moscow recently sold the Dow Chemical Co. benzine worth $13,000,000. Recommending expanded U.S.-Soviet trade, Sen. Mike Mansfield (D-Mont.) said: "It may be that the way to some sort of stabilization and peace is through channels of trade."

MIKOYAN INDICATED he was acutely aware of the facts of life when he said on his last day in the U.S.: "We must admit capitalism in America is still strong. Capitalists cannot approve communism. Communists cannot approve capitalism. But we must proceed from the facts. And that means one has to live peacefully with one's neighbor and tolerate him. Otherwise each will annihilate the other."

Can one quarrel with that formulation? We think not. But if the signs of change in Washington are to grow into a positive policy, Americans will have to instruct their elected representatives in the facts of life with traditionally democratic methods.

It's time to do a little talking—in person and by mail to our Congressmen, in letters to the papers, and by raising our voices whenever we can in the interest of common sense and survival.

Then, perhaps, our leaders will get the idea, and do a little more talking with the Russians—and anyone else willing to sit down and talk it over.

—THE GUARDIAN

ARMY TANKS PUT DOWN STRIKES

Frondizi's reversal of policy leading to crisis in Argentina

By Kumar Goshal

EIGHT MONTHS AGO 49-year-old Dr. Arturo Frondizi was swept into Argentina's Presidential Casa Rosada (The Pink House) on a tidal wave of popular support. At the time he characterized Argentine businessmen and land barons as a "rancid oligarchy" and was himself suspected of being a "pinko" if not an outright "Red" by the U.S. government and industrialists.

Last month N.Y. **Times** correspondent Juan de Onis wrote from Buenos Aires that Frondizi's "popularity had reached the lowest point since he took office last May," while he was being applauded by the same "rancid oligarchy" he had blamed "for the ills of the nation." He had also been fully rehabilitated in the eyes of Washington officials and American financiers.

DREAM AND REALITY: Frondizi's reversal was spectacularly drastic. On Jan. 21, before a joint session of Congress in Washington, he spoke fervently of the American dream of a life in this hemisphere "without oppression, unfairness or persecution." As he spoke, Argentina entered its third month under a state of siege with all constitutional guarantees suspended.

In Buenos Aires military forces and federal police supported by army tanks moved in on a united labor front strike of more than 1,500,000 workers. Oil field and meatpacking plant workers were put under military control subject to court-martial. Workers were chased through the streets as women on rooftops hooted and threw rocks at the police. Jails were filled with workers and trade union leaders. Communist Party headquarters were closed down and the personnel arrested.

Resistencia Popular, Buenos Aires

THE EASY WAY: Loss of popularity and the strikes came with Frondizi's sharp reversal in economic policy. He had been elected on a platform of land reform, public ownership of basic industries, controlled foreign investment, industrialization and agricultural diversification. Unable or unwilling to act against stubborn landlords, flight of domestic capital and mounting inflation, Frondizi took the easy way out by asking U.S. aid on American terms.

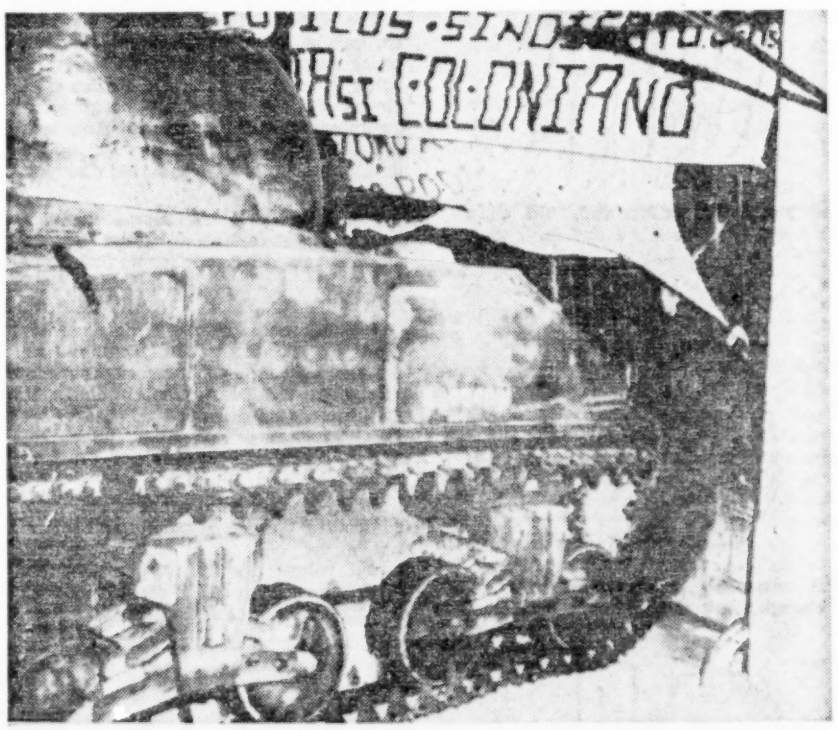
Last Dec. 29 the U.S. government, the International Monetary Fund and private American banks announced loans and other aid totaling $329,000,000 to Argentina. In return, Buenos Aires pledged, as the **Times** said, a program of austerity and reduced standard of living "described as the most drastic ever imposed upon the recipient of an international 'bail-out'."

WHAT IT MEANS: The Frondizi government took these steps:

- Devalued the Argentine peso to less than a quarter of its former official value;
- Removed all direct controls over imports and international payments;
- Agreed to dispose of state enterprises running on a deficit;
- Guaranteed foreign capital invested in Argentina "equal rights with domestic capital."

Similar demands of American and other Western capital have been rejected by most underdeveloped countries of the world because:

- Currency devaluation cheapens labor cost for foreign investors while it depresses the people's living standards;
- Removal of direct import and international payment controls floods the country with foreign goods and drains scarce foreign currency reserves;
- Disposal of state-owned enterprises means preventing development of basic industries which the state alone can undertake in an economically backward country;
- Under "equal rights" powerful foreign capital can overwhelm the modest domestic capital of an underdeveloped country.



AN AMERICAN-MADE TANK CRASHES INTO A STRIKE-BOUND PLANT
The union banner is a protest against colonial status

Washington officials were frankly saying that Frondizi's blanket concessions might become a sort of test for other underdeveloped countries.

THE PAY-OFF: Argentina is already paying for Frondizi's concessions. The cost of living is zooming straight up. Fuel oil prices have risen nearly 400%, with a consequent rise in the cost of electric power. Food and transportation costs have doubled. Taxis are empty, restaurants are half-filled, night clubs are quiet.

But it's clover for the cattle barons. They now get three times the price fetched a year ago and 90% of the exchange earned by export instead of the 50% before Frondizi's concessions. Wool exporters are profiteering. Anticipating free exchange for exports, they loaded up last October by buying cheaply from hard-pressed farmers.

ALL IN VAIN? Standard Oil of Indiana has started drilling on a new concession. Subsidiaries of Esso and Royal Dutch Shell, Union Oil of California and Carl M. Loeb, Rhoades & Co., New York investment bankers, have signed contracts with the Argentine government. Oil is nominally state-owned; but Standard, for example, has been guaranteed a tax-free "fee" of $1.60 a barrel for crude oil, which is scarcely less than the well-head price it gets for oil it wholly owns.

Frondizi's concessions may have been in vain. Profits of U.S. exporters and foreign debts of more than $150,000,000 falling due this year may eat up the $329,000,000 U.S. aid for economic stabilization he obtained. He will not even have full control over spending the aid fund; he has not dared tell his people that an Intl. Monetary Fund representative will be permanently assigned in Buenos Aires "to cooperate in the application of the stabilization plan."

My dear it's so terrible I'm sure it'll never be used . . .

After all, perhaps it is God's will that the human race should be destroyed by the bomb . . .

But you don't understand, old chap—it's not a weapon it's a *det-ter-ent* . . .

But mate—no one's gonna be mad enough to start an H-bomb war . . .

THE GOAL: WORLD PEACE COMMITTEE

Eight-nation group formed for disarmament

By Cedric Belfrage

LONDON

WHILE 23 BRITISH rocket-base demonstrators remained in jail, the fight for nuclear disarmament forged links across frontiers at an eight-nation European Congress here on Jan. 17. Beginning with a mass meeting at which J. B. Priestley and the Bishop of Llandaff were chief speakers, the peace weekend closed with a special delegates' service in St. Paul's Cathedral.

Earl (Bertrand) Russell was keynote speaker at the Congress, which was chaired by Canon L. J. Collins of St. Paul's, educator Sir Richard Acland and science writer Ritchie Calder.

Writer Hans Werner Richter, chairman of Munich's Anti-Atomic Arms Committee, was named chairman of a European Committee to meet frequently in different West European capitals. An advocate of closer ties between West European countries, Richter warned that Europe might "inherit all the evils" of the national set-up if atomic-minded governments moved toward unification and opposition forces did not.

SHADOW GOVERNMENT: G. A. de Bock of Holland's anti-atomic movement said the European Committee must be the first step to a world committee with a world peace fund and information bureau—"something like a shadow government of the world."

The demand for a positive approach through a world development fund for peace was backed by **France-Observateur** editor Claude Bourdet and French sociologist Georges Maranz, who proposed an international cooperative bank issuing debentures for investment in underdeveloped lands. The congress also considered these proposals:

- A joint Afro-Asian-European-American "protest march into the Sahara" when France gets ready for its first atomic tests there (British Direct Action Committee);
- A joint Anglo-German protest against stationing of a British rocket unit on the airport at Dortmund, Germany (proposed by Dean Gruber of Berlin Cathedral, who described the "new deal" in Germany as "you supplying rockets and we supplying the spirit of Adolf Hitler");
- An international order of scientists, controlling dangerous secrets and imposing moral obligations which members would voluntarily accept; an unofficial "Nuremberg tribunal" to consider charges of occupation of other countries for criminal nuclear purposes (Belgian proposals);
- Launching by regional groups of mass education programs in science, sociology, foreign affairs and ethics (Robert Jungk, author of **Brighter than a Thousand Suns**);
- A world anti-nuclear weapons congress next fall, including "iron curtain" countries, based on the precedent of the three "Pugwash" scientists' conferences—i.e., with the press absent to avoid "inhibiting" delegates, but ending with a public mass demonstration (playwright Benn W. Levy).

WIDE BACKING: Messages of support were read from Rev. Michael Scott and **Peace News** editor Hugh Brock (in jail), from Hiroshima victims, German Social Democratic leaders and trade unions and scientists who issued the Goettingen Manifesto, and the U.S. Sane Nuclear Policy Committee; from Ignazio Silone, Cyrus Eaton, Norman Cousins, Vercors, Abbé Pierre (Paris), Pastor Niemoeller, and the mayors of Cologne, Kassel, Munich and Frankfurt.

West Berlin district mayor Kressmann, who was a delegate, invited the new European Committee to convene in Berlin: "You will see that Berliners of both East and West will share in the demonstration against nuclear arms."

The biggest delegation came from Germany, source of the original moves for the Congress which was to have been held in Basel (the Swiss government banned it). British delegates included trade unionists, representatives of 12 regional Nuclear Disarmament committees, scientists, Quakers, columnists, cartoonists and a countess. These reports were made on countries represented:

FRANCE: Prof. Kastler, physicist, said that preoccupation with Algeria and domestic problems had so far prevented any mass movement, but the "Movement of the 150" against the government decision to make A-bombs had a million unorganized supporters. His group backed the government in only one thing—that unless there were agreement to stop manufacture as well as tests, the present atomic powers had no right to a monopoly. Paris pastor André Trocmé spoke for churchmen who are calling upon France and the world to "stop worshipping idols" (nuclear weapons).

NORWAY: More than 40,000 supported with their names the Albert Schweitzer peace appeal; Oslo has had a mass demonstration, and an organized committee is about to be set up.

SWITZERLAND: A drive is under way for 50,000 signatures for a referendum to write prohibition of nuclear weapons into the federal constitution.

SWEDEN: Novelist Barbro Alving said that the movement against the government decision to enter the "nuclear club" began last June, when country trade unionists sent the ruling Labor Party a demand that Sweden disarm completely and become "a sort of Red Cross state." The Labor Party is divided on the issue but 80,000 Social Democratic women have taken a strong initiative. An anti-bomb book co-authored by a military veteran, showing Sweden's indefensibility and urging "'another road to manifest the national will to live," has been broadly effective and violently attacked in the press. Following mass and other protests sparked by a 21-member "action group," of which Sweden's former archbishop is a member, plans for nuclear tests have been postponed.

RALLY IN FRANKFURT: No representatives of "communist" peace groups were among the 250 delegates, but scientist J. D. Bernal, vice president of the British Peace Committee, was present as an observer and was warmly applauded when the chair invited him to speak.

On the Sunday afternoon 70 delegates flew to Frankfurt for a final session before an audience of 5,000 in St. Paul's Kirche, as guests of the city's mayor who gave them a civic banquet. Speakers included **New Statesman & Nation** editor Kingsley Martin, scientist Max Born, and Waldemar von Knoeringen, Bavarian aristocrat and vice president of the German Social Democratic Party; senders of messages included Jean-Paul Sartre.

Britain's Nuclear Disarmament Campaign announced a "second Aldermaston" demonstration next Easter weekend—this time a march from the H-bomb plant to a mass meeting in London.

The drawings on this page are by Arthur Horner and appear in a booklet, **Famous Last Words,** being distributed by The Campaign For Nuclear Disarmament, 146 Fleet St., London, E.C. 4. Copies are available for two shillings (about 28c) plus postage. Interested groups may secure a lower price for quantity orders by writing the Campaign's secretary, Mrs. Peggy Duff, at the address above.

Well, I'm sure the Prime Minister and all those Generals must know more about it than we.

Got to talk tough to 'em—only language they understand . . .

I'd rather the human race came to an end than be enslaved . . .

Me . . .? Oh! I leave all that sort of thing to my husband . . .

After all, the Thirty-nine Articles say a Christian may "take up arms" in a righteous cause.

Supreme Court rules U.S. was at peace in 1947 in freeing ex-GI in murder case

A SUPREME COURT ruling establishing that the U.S. was "at peace" in 1947, which may have far-reaching effects in other cases, was won by Attorney Carl L. Rhoads of Ecorse, Mich., in the case of ex-G.I. John Lee.

Lee was court-martialed for a murder which occurred while he was in an army disciplinary barracks serving a 20-year sentence for a wartime robbery in Paris. The Supreme Court decided the Army did not have jurisdiction in the murder case because the U.S. was at peace when it happened.

Lee will be released from Alcatraz this month if the Army does not seek a rehearing on the 6 to 2 Supreme Court decision.

Rhoads accepted the case in 1954 after other lawyers had given up. He himself is a colonel in the Army Reserve area service unit at Fort Wayne, Detroit. His Detroit law partner, also an Army judge-advocate, helped prepare the case and a West Coast lawyer, Robert E. Hannon of San Francisco, joined the defense without fee and handled the West Coast hearings.

LAWYER RHOADS: The appeal contended that the Army had already discharged Lee dishonorably at the start of sentence for robbing a Paris cabaret in 1945, and lacked jurisdiction over him at the time of the murder in a California barracks. It argued also that Army law specifies that murder cases occurring in continental U.S. during peacetime shall be tried in civil rather than military courts. The Army countered that the war did not end technically until the peace treaty was signed with Japan in 1952. The Supreme Court ruled against the Army on the latter point.

The murder charge against Lee was dubious. He was a trusty in a barracks where three men jumped a fourth. He tried to intervene to help, but the victim was stabbed by one of the three. Before he died he made a statement that Lee had tried to help, but it was barred as evidence.

Lee, who was due for freedom soon on the robbery charge, may rejoin his family in Michigan before the end of the month. His sister, Mrs. Marie LaPointe, tearfully praised attorney Rhoads as a man who "put a human life before money."

FROM PREVAILING POVERTY TO POTENTIAL RICHES

Ghana sets its goals in vast development plan

By Ursula Wassermann
Guardian staff correspondent

ACCRA

IT IS ESSENTIAL to get out of Accra to feel the heartbeat of Africa: its music, its dances, its laughter, its tears; its friendly gaiety and its ancient sadness, its potential riches and its prevailing poverty.

Accra, as somebody said, is three fishing villages thrown together to make the capital of Ghana. It is a mushrooming town of some 200,000 people, resembling a boom-town of the American West a century ago or Tel Aviv 25 years ago. With its skyscrapers and modern hotels and over-priced European stores, Accra may be symbolic of the dreams of a future industrialized Africa, but the rest of the country lags way behind.

The further north one travels, the less pretension one encounters. Poverty and friendliness increase in equal proportion. The kindness shown to strangers, especially to Europeans, is deeply moving and shames a European for the white man's injustices in this part of the world.

THE GARDEN CITY: So I flew to Kumasi, Ghana's "garden city," capital of Ashanti, seat of the feudal opposition to the Nkrumah government. It is a lovely town surrounded by lush, green forests where cocoa is king—and will remain so until the country is industrialized and agriculture diversified. We tasted the bitter-sweet cocoa beans as they were drying on wooden trays in village after village, ate the sweet flesh of the golden-ripe popo, which tasted like a mixture of melon and mango.

We watched drumming and dancing at the new cultural center for the revival and preservation of indigenous African art forms. I took off my sandals and received my first dancing lesson in African rhythms from a Technology Institute professor clad in gorgeous cloth. We picnicked, ate delicious African and Indian and Arab dishes, sang and talked at the Kumasi International Club, where Africans and Europeans, Indians and Lebanese mingled with complete ease.

KUMASI HOSPITAL: Next day I visited the new $14,000,000 Kumasi Hospital, opened in 1955. One official called it an architect's dream and an administrator's nightmare, for it consists of five large,

inter-connected buildings where the staff literally walk miles every day. Some critics claimed it would have been better for the nation's health to have built five hospitals in different parts of the country at a cost of $2,800,000 each. Nevertheless, with its spacious, airy and spotlessly clean wards and high nursing standards, the hospital is a patient's as well as an architect's dream.

Attached to the hospital is Ghana's largest Nurse's Training College, with 300 resident students, each with her private dormitory room. What it means to a young African woman to have a room of her own can be imagined only by those who have seen the one-room shacks and mud huts which house most Ghanaian families of 10 or 12.

The need for nurses, midwives and doctors is unlimited. Kumasi hospital has only nine doctors (the blueprints call for 58) taking care of some 500 in-patients and hundreds of out-patients. Over 100 Ghanaians are training overseas to be doctors; nearly 1,500 men and women are training in Ghana to be nurses, midwives, pharmacists, health inspectors, laboratory technicians and X-ray operators. The number is still too small; for, outside the capital, there is only one doctor for every 20,000 persons. But mobile health teams are beginning to circulate, public health centers in villages are being planned and the UN World Health Organization is doing its share.

STUDENTS OUTSIDE THEIR MODERN UNIVERSITY IN GHANA
"Ghanaians have a universal, insatiable thirst for knowledge"

RIDING WITH THE HENS: From Kumasi I went to Tamale, capital of the Northern Territories. Three of us took the Government transport bus, which carries the daily mail as well as men, women, children, hens, turkeys and hardware. The crowded, ancient bus took 10½ hours to cover 237 miles. Still, it was luxurious compared with the so-called Mammie-lorries—open trucks with wooden planks, crammed to bursting point, which are the main means of road transport here.

The landscape northward changed from green forests to shrub country and arid areas. In many places, there was no water for miles around; last year's drought had played such havoc with this traditionally poor region that both water and cereals had to be sent up from Kumasi and Accra. Emaciated children with bloated bellies and spindly legs became a common sight along the roadside.

A POOR DIET: Even in normal times the northern diet contains practically no vitamins and little protein except what is supplied by peanuts. This is cattle country; but cattle is too valuable for local consumption. The best herds are driven southward for sale and slaughter. Babies get no milk save from their mother's breast. Fruit and green vegetables are almost unknown, except an occasional serving of a coarse, leafy green and some mangos and popos. The local diet is almost entirely composed of carbohydrates: millet, corn, casavas, yams and plantain.

Tamale is a pleasant, clean town, unspoiled by tourists, with only one restaurant, which also serves as the town's night-spot, appropriately enough called Freedom Bar. At the simple Residency—a large, sprawling country house—we were immediately made to feel at home by Regional Commissioner L. R. Abavana and his charming wife. We spent hours on the terrace like members of the family, talking to our hosts and meeting dozens of callers, feeling we were at last in the heart of Africa; and Africa felt good and friendly and wonderful.

EDUCATIONAL RIDGE: Abavana had finished Achimota Secondary School, but had never been to college. In the entire Northern Territory, comprising half of Ghana and two-thirds of its population, there is only one university graduate. But the Abavanas know their land and their people; and we saw Ghana democracy functioning at its grass roots as we watched the kindness, patience and understanding with which the Commissioner and his wife dealt with those who came for aid or advice.

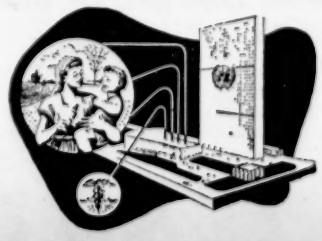
The Abavanas were justly proud of one feature of Tamale, the Educational Ridge. This was a vast compound comprising both primary and secondary schools as well as men's and women's teacher training colleges. Ghana as a whole has done well in terms of education, with 600,000 children in a population of 5,000,000 attending primary and middle schools. But, although the government spent $25,200,000 for education in the first year of independence, the greater part went to the south and Ashanti and the Northern Territories were treated like Cinderella.

As chief Ada of Novrongo — Ghana's northernmost outpost—told us the day we called on him: "Tell our friends how much we need their help."

VAST JOB AHEAD: Returning to Accra from Ashanti and the Northern Territories, one notices more starkly the contrast between the old and the new even in the capital, and realizes the breathtaking magnitude of the economic and social problems facing Ghana as a whole.

For example, even such a modern and elegant thoroughfare as Kwame Nkrumah Avenue—Accra's main shopping center—is bordered by open sewers endangering public health. A UN expert is planning a modern sewage system for the capital; pending its successful demonstration, open sewers continue to be built in new community developments in the interior.

The government's Consolidation Development Plan, spanning the interim period (July, '57-July, '59) between the first and second Five Year Plans, seems generally to have emphasized areas urgently needing reform, although it was hampered by the 1957 fall in world price of cocoa. The funds depend entirely on



the export tax on cocoa. There were, however, some discrepancies in the allocation of funds.

LITTLE RURAL HOUSING: It is understandable that a young nation like Ghana would like to make a showcase of its capital, where visitors first land. Still, critics note that the Housing Ministry is spending only a minute fraction of its nearly $2,500,000 in rural areas, and allocation for agriculture is $1,120,000 less than the sum allowed for trade and industry. Land conservation and rural water supply figure high on the list, with $2,800,000 allocated to the Rural Water Development Scheme; but only 5% goes to the arid north badly in need of dams and reservoirs. Similarly, rural electrification receives only 4% of the power development fund.

Distribution of the education fund seems to be better balanced. Over 60% of its $14,000,000 is being spent on Accra University College (including Ghana's first women's hall) and the Kumasi College of Technology; nearly $840,000 on secondary education; and $1,120,000 on teacher training, of which 90% goes to the Northern Territories.

LOVE OF LEARNING: What has impressed me most in Ghana is the universal, insatiable thirst for knowledge displayed by Ghanaians of all ages. One interesting project in the educational scheme is the Builders' Brigade, a voluntary organization of young men and women learning a trade while building roads and houses and a variety of public works. They are fed by the government and paid unskilled workers' wages; they are the best fed and healthiest youth I have seen here.

Ghanaians pay moving tribute to all technical experts helping develop their country, but they appreciate most the UN technical staff and would prefer aid programs channeled through the UN Food and Agricultural Organization. The lack of trained personnel, both technical and administrative, remains serious.

NKRUMAH'S IDEAL: The development plan, which goes into effect after the interim period ending this July, will stress public health, sanitation and expanded social services even while giving priority to education. Such a balanced development remains Premier Nkrumah's ideal. A year ago he said: "We shall measure our progress by the improvement in the health of our people; by the number of children in school; by the availability of water and electricity in our towns and villages, and by the happiness which our people take in being able to manage their own affairs."

BOOKS THE FIRST PAPERBACK DOLLAR BOOK OFFERED BY PROMETHEUS

'The Power Elite'--the men who make the decisions

IT IS POSSIBLE TO ARGUE with sociologist C. Wright Mills over his conclusions, as Dr. Otto Nathan did in last week's GUARDIAN in discussing Mills' latest book, **The Causes of World War III**, but one can hardly argue with Mills' analysis of the ruling structure of this country as set forth in **The Power Elite.** One critic (**Harper's**) when it was first published in 1956, called it "infuriating" and then went on to grant the author "my grudging admiration," because the book "made me change my mind about a few things and to realize my ignorance of many others." Another critic (**Saturday Review**) found it "both fascinating and infuriating" and went on to prophesy, perhaps hopefully, that it would become "one of those famous books that everybody knows about and almost nobody reads."

The Power Elite has indeed become famous; in fact, it had four printings within its first year. But until Liberty Book Club scored its first impressive coup in paperbacks, by obtaining the rights to the first paperbound edition, its readership has been largely limited to those who can afford $6 books. It therefore has not been widely read by the mass of workaday people over whom America's Power Elite rules, and who historically must be looked to to change such a situation.

IT IS HENCE not only a coup but a public service, like installing new power lines, that this book will henceforth be available from Liberty's Prometheus Paperback Book Club for $1. And it is a kind of tribute to the GUARDIAN and its readers that we are considered most likely to succeed, and therefore first in line, on the job of getting such facts into ten or a hundred new hands where only one had them before. This does not mean that Liberty, or the GUARDIAN either, sees eye to eye with Mills all the way. As a matter of fact, Liberty's new **Promethean Review**, which will go bi-monthly to its members, promises as one of its new paperbound "works in progress" a Marxist critique by Dr. Herbert Aptheker called **The Classless Society of C. Wright Mills.**

It is true, and even obvious, that Mills sidesteps the classic class structure of society (and the historic class struggle) for categories of his own description. But if the working class does not emerge clearly as the underlying victims of all his ruling class categories, he does find the Marxian doctrine of class struggle "closer to reality than any assumed harmony of interests."

And he is clearly doubtful that the democratic society has the means of steering its own course because of "the great gap now existing between the underlying population and those who make decisions in its name, decisions of enormous consequence which the public does not even know are being made until well after the fact." Decisions, as he frequently says, like dropping A-bombs and H-bombs.

WHO makes these decisions, and how do they derive the power?

The Power Elite is composed of "men whose positions enable them to transcend the ordinary environments of ordinary men." Their power resides in the economic, political and military domains. No family is as directly powerful as any major corporation; no church as powerful as the military in affecting young men's lives; no university as meaningful as the National Security Council. Two or three hundred giant corporations dominate the economy; the political order, "once a decentralized set of several dozens of states with a weak spinal cord, has become a centralized, executive establishment"; the military, "once a slim establishment . . . fed by state militia, has become the largest and most expensive feature of government."

These are not autonomous but rather

Wall Street Journal

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are interlocked: "The decisions of a handful of corporations bear upon the military and political as well as upon economic developments around the world." Similarly, military decisions "rest upon and grievously affect" political life and economic activity; and the political domain determines economic activities and military programs; "the warlords, the corporation chieftains, the political directorate—tend to come together, to form the power elite of America."

THEY ARE NOT an intellectual elite —intellectuals perform for them as "hired men"; what culture they have they get, by and large, by briefing; and if one could take the hundred most powerful, the hundred wealthiest and the hundred most celebrated away from "the institutional positions they now occupy, their resources of men, women and money, away from the mass media of communication that are now focused upon them—then they would be powerless and poor and uncelebrated."

The social structure from which the power elite are drawn Mills discusses in chapters called Local Society, Metropolitan 400, The Celebrities, The Very Rich, The Chief Executives, The Corporate Rich, The Warlords, the Military Ascendancy and the Political Directorate.

Readers will gleefully recognize the characters in local society from real life, the celebrities and the 400 from **Life** magazine et al. They must take a more somber view of the corporate rich and the warlords. Space here will not permit the luxury of even summaries of Mills' detailed and devastating descriptions of these groups, how they operate, whom they marry and why and how—and how amply they live on the unearned increment from your labor.

If you want to know about the country club life, who pays for those Cadillacs, the predominance of Episcopalians among chief executives, or how celebrities are created to get you off the scent, this is a book with many hours of absorbing and enjoyable reading and re-reading. It is also a powerhouse gift book, a terrific eye-opener for almost anyone you know. And at $1 a throw, you can now afford to open a few eyes to the alternately funny and fearful facts of life in America.

MILLS' SCHOLARLY CONCLUSION seems mournful, if not despairing: "The American elite is not composed of representative men whose conduct and character constitute models for American imitation and aspiration. There is no set of men with whom members of the mass public can rightfully and gladly identify. In this fundamental sense, America is indeed without leaders.

"Yet such is the nature of the mass public's morally cynical and politically unspecified distrust that it is readily drained off without real political effect. That this is so, after the men and events of the last 30 years, is further proof of the extreme difficulty of finding and of using in America today the political means of sanity for morally sane objectives."

There is, of course, nothing lacking in the mass public that sound and resounding information cannot supply. The facts in **The Power Elite** are that kind of information. It is now available in the large economy size, and no one should be without it.

—John T. McManus

THE POWER ELITE. by C. Wright Mills. A Prometheus Paperback edition of the original $6 book published by Oxford University Press. Liberty Book Club, 100 W. 23 St., New York 11 N.Y. 432 pp. $1.

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NO ACT OF OUR STATE DEPARTMENT has done more to create loss of confidence in free America than the removal of controversial books from the libraries maintained by our government in foreign countries.

People, like those in Germany, who had for years been denied access to ideas in conflict with totalitarianism were able to get books on all subjects. Nothing kept them from reading books critical of many things in the United States. The fact that authors were free to criticize gave them convincing proof that freedom ruled.

Then came the asinine McCarthy book-burning crusade which brought about the surrender of spineless State Department officials. Controversial books were removed from those foreign libraries. For the first time the kind of books on the shelves was the decision of state officials, not of trained librarians.

Let us all keep in mind what Robert Peel wrote:

"When a nation ceases to allow minority views to find expression its ultimate fate is sealed. It has ruled out the healthy self-criticism, the competitive challenge of ideas, the free enterprise of the mind that keeps a country morally vigorous.

"If freedom means anything it means allowing the dissenter to present his case, the heretic to make his protest. This permits a lot of foolish and even dangerous things to be said, but it also permits even the most unwelcome truth to lift its voice in the forum and be heard."

—From Libraries for Florida (January), published by the Florida State Library Board

CORLISS LAMONT

Plan for peace

DR. CORLISS LAMONT'S ten-point program for peace was introduced in 1958 to radio and TV audiences during his campaign as Independent-Socialist candidate for U.S. Senator from New York. It became "controversial" because one of the groups supporting Lamont—the Socialist Workers Party—took issue with some of his points and were attacked by the Communist Party for so doing. Principally, the SWP opposed points concerning the UN and a proposal for a new Summit meeting, since it opposes all collaboration with capitalist governments.

Now Lamont's ten points are the basis for the latest of his ten-cent Basic Pamphlets (No. 12), called "A Peace Program for the United States." It calls for (1) U.S. withdrawal from offshore China, including Taiwan; (2) U.S. recognition of China and an end to U.S. opposition to China's admission to the UN; (3) withdrawal of U.S. forces from 950 military bases in 73 countries throughout the world; (4) an overall Middle East settlement; (5) U.S., British, Soviet agreement to halt nuclear tests; (6) general disarmament, including a ban on germ and gas warfare; (7) end the cold war; (8) a united Germany; (9) strengthen the UN; (10) a new Summit Conference.

The able argument for these points makes No. 12 one of the best of the series. Basic Pamphlets are vest-pocket-size in format, fit easily into an ordinary envelope. No. 12 runs 24 pages. It may be bought in bulk at 40% discount for 50 or more, 15 for $1, seven for 50c, single copies 10c. Order from Basic Pamphlets, Box 42, Cathedral Sta., New York 25, N.Y.

Program in Cambridge marks anniversary of Gandhi death

COMMEMORATING THE 11TH anniversary of the death of Mahatma Gandhi, the New England American Friends Service Committee will hold a Quiet Hour and special program Jan. 31 at the Friends Meeting House, 5 Longfellow Park, Cambridge.

Friends are invited to gather at 6:30 for meditation.

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Liberty Book Club is now mailing to you and to more than 40,000 other progressive Americans a copy of **The Power Elite,** C. Wright Mills' widely discussed book. We feel that this fearless study of the American ruling class by one of our leading social critics is the ideal book to launch the book club which will bring you Prometheus Books by mail, each month, in paper, at a dollar.

About the method

We are asking either that you join the club by sending in your subscription, or that you send in a dollar for the book alone. Either act will help make for the success of this "Big Leap Forward on the American Left." Although our method—that of mailing the books without prior order—is unorthodox, and even daring, we feel that such an important book at such a price, and the announcement—at last—of a dollar Left book club, will not only bring us the approval of our friends, but their blessing as well. We know that many people have wanted to own this devastating critique but just could not afford its $6 price.

About the magazine

At the same time that Liberty launches the paperback book club, its editors also are launching **The Promethean Review,** a new, bi-monthly magazine (also included in the mailing) which, like the book club, will try to bring socialist insight to a lot of dark corners of theory and practice of our times. All subscribers to Liberty's new paperback book club will receive a subscription to the new review, FREE OF CHARGE, as long as their membership lasts.

For more than ten years now, through a trying period in our country's political history, Liberty Book Club and its associates have been publishing and distributing good books. We have had the loyal support of a distinguished membership, men and women who insisted on the right to read what they pleased, who refused to confine their sources of information to conformist handouts. By this support, scores of valuable books on important questions have had a hearing which otherwise would have been denied them in a period of conformity and suppression. These books have attacked, clarified, exposed, and enlightened. We hope each in its way has also brought entertainment and pleasure to thousands of readers.

An historic role

Some of these books have played historic roles. **False Witness,** for example, was the first big exposé of the infamous paid informer system and, according to John Steinbeck, brought the "death of a racket." Others, like John Wexley's **The Judgment of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg,** broke through the dark silence of our own Dreyfus case. Still others, like the novel, **The Ecstasy of Owen Muir** by Ring Lardner, Jr., threw the sharp light of satire on our times.

The mailing which will come to you soon describes how Liberty's Prometheus *Paperback* books will bring books of similar substance to a *larger* audience. With the same quality books we want to reach an audience that can afford dollar books but has been finding the old Liberty hardback prices too stiff. And remember, Prometheus Books will be full-length, uncut books. But, instead of costing $2.50, $3.00 or $4.00, they will come to you for a dollar.

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For instance, our brochure will show how, if you wish, you may send us by return mail your check or cash for the first selection, and then repeat this each time your new selection comes, thus spreading your book budget over the months. It will also explain how you can arrange for an Advance Membership for five, ten, or more advance selections, and receive in addition your own FREE copy of **The Promethean Review** every two months.

You will soon receive our brochure along with the introductory offer. It will give you details about the kind of savings Liberty's new paperback club will bring you on your book budget.

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We believe that all progressives have a kind of common bank account of mutual aid. Time and again projects and ideas have been advanced by a minority drawing upon this account of friendly cooperation—by a minority of men and women who assume responsibility and act upon it. When you receive our mailing we feel sure YOU will wish to join. Further, we think you will want others to join as well—and will want to seek these new members. To assist you in organizing house meetings we have listed some of our authors and prospective authors who will accept invitations to address your friends without fee on subjects of their own specialities. Speakers available now in the New York area and the East are:

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Eve Merriam	John T. McManus	Anton Refregier
Angus Cameron	Annette Rubinstein	Herbert Aptheker
Allyn and Adele Rickett		Carl Marzani

We will also have speakers available for meetings throughout the coming months for our friends in other parts of the country. While you await our mailing will you ask for a date for one of the above speakers or seek information about schedules in areas outside the East?

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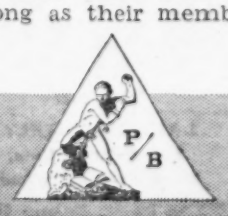


Liberty Prometheus Paperback book club

How the budget breaks down

LAST YEAR'S BUDGET estimated $45.8 billion for major national security in fiscal 1959; this year's budget estimates $45.8 billion for fiscal 1960. The budget makers have transferred $800 million in defense outlay from "national security" to "international affairs." Here is a more complete rundown on military and paramilitary items for fiscal 1960:

Item	In millions
Military defense	$40,945
Atomic energy (A-H bombs)	2,745
Military assistance	1,850
Stockpiling	265
Major national security	45,805
International affairs	2,129
Natl. Aeronautics & Space Agency	280
Civil defense	65
Defense education & military area schools	298
Strictly current outlay	48,577
Veterans' services and benefits	5,088
Initerest on the debt	8,096
Grand total	$61,761

The budget story

(Continued from Page 1)

facturers will pass on the accrued benefits to Uncle Sam. The fatuousness of this assumption is compounded by the current campaign of major contractors, headed by General Electric, for higher profits on military contracts.

THE ALARM SOUNDS: Congressional supporters of the munitions makers are raising the customary budget-time hue and cry of the Soviet military menace, despite the fact that the U.S.S.R. has again cut its military budget, which is now about half of ours. The horror stories are worse than usual, because of the Soviet Solnik. If the Soviet Union is really making as many ICBMs as the alarmists say, and spends as much on each one as we do, it would require more than its entire national income to pay for the ICBM's alone.

The upshot of the spenders' debate with Defense Secy. McElroy—who still claims the Russians are a virtual push-over—is likely to be even greater extra appropriations than last year. Fiscal 1959 military spending is now estimated at a billion more than the President's original budget for this year.

LESS FOR UNEMPLOYED: There is little notable about the civilian section of the expenditure budget. By and large, social and welfare spending are retained at their present inadequate levels.

The most significant reduction is the elimination of $400 million spent this fiscal year under the emergency unemployment insurance extension measure. This was the sop the Administration threw to labor to head off demands for substantial and permanent extension of time limits for unemployment benefits.

Unemployment, at latest reports, was still running higher than during the same period last winter, during the crisis. More unemployed have exhausted their benefits. Suffering remains intense in many mining and industrial areas. Labor needs not just the extension of the present 13-week maximum supplement, but a general improvement in time coverage, amount of benefits and universality of coverage.

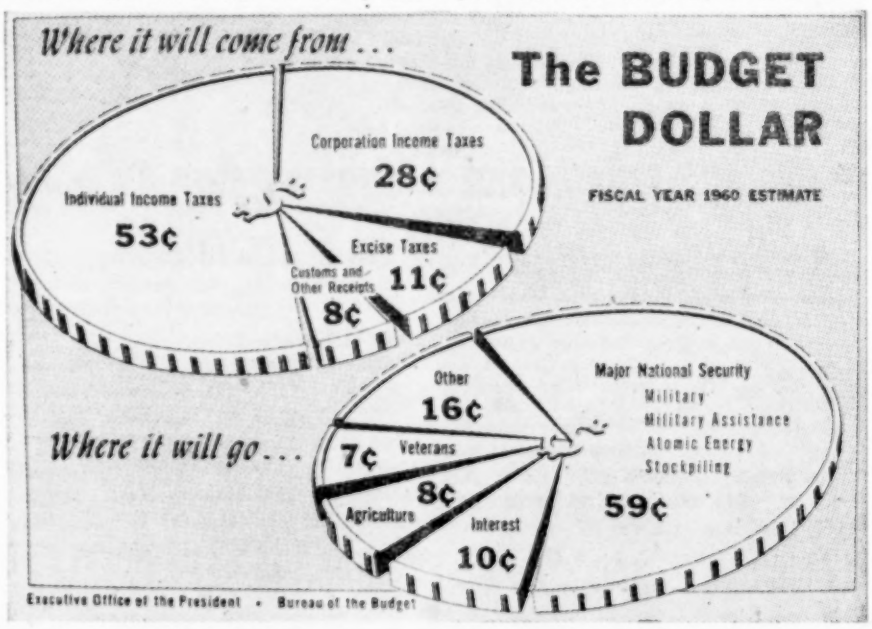
The $400 million "saving" at the expense of the unemployed is more than balanced by a budget rise of $500 million in interest payments to the bankers.

BIGGER TAX BURDEN: Heavier military spending and last year's slump have made a big tax cut for big business difficult—although some new loopholes will surely be sought. But the President has proposed a big new tax bite on the general public to set the stage for a tax cut for the wealthy next year. This is what is proposed:

- A rise of 1½c per gallon, or $700 million, in the Federal gasoline tax.
- A second rise, $350 million, in postal rates.
- Higher taxes on aviation and jet fuel, which will boost airline fares 10%.
- A continued automatic rise in income taxes withheld from payrolls as wages rise under cost-of-living adjustments — without a rise in exemptions. Federal income taxes withheld jumped from $13 billion in fiscal 1951 to an estimated $29 billion in fiscal 1960.
- Taxes on cooperatives, to be detailed later. This is a concession to the utilities, food processors, and oil companies, which persistently fight the rural cooperatives.

N.Y. STATE HARD HIT: These blows come on top of first-of-the-year increases in Social Security deductions, and recent increases in many state and local levies. The worst situation in 1959 is faced by workers in New York State and New York City. In addition to the Federal increases, they are in for a major tax shellacking by Gov. Rockefeller, with an assist from Mayor Wagner.

The one constructive proposal on revenues in the Federal budget is an increase in taxes on life insurance companies of $185 million. This is a partial corrective for the virtually tax-free status of these companies, but it is uncertain whether the proposal will get by the powerful insurance lobby in Congress.



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JEWISH CURRENTS Feb. issue just out. For **Jewish Music Month:** Recorded Jewish Music: A Selection by David Platt, Jewish Music for Children by Ruth Zalman, and Cradle Song (with music) by Sholem Aleichem.
For **Negro History Week:** James T. Rapier, 1839-1884 Negro Congressman, by Eugene Feldman, Can We Outlaw "Hate Literature" by Victor Rabinowitz. Issues of the Month by Morris U. Schappes, and other features. Single copy 35c; introductory offer, 4 issues $1; subscription $3 per year USA, $3.50 elsewhere. Jewish Currents, 22 E. 17 St., New York 3, N.Y., Dept. G.

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THE GALLERY

CIVIL DEFENSE OFFICIALS in Maryland are split on strategy; some think the best defense in an air attack is to evacuate the population; others lean to digging deep shelters. The lines are sharply drawn between the dig or run factions in Montgomery County where a Civil Defense Advisory Board recommended a comprehensive shelter program. When State CD Director Shirley Ewing learned of the proposals he hit the roof. On Jan. 31 he wrote to the county council advising them that official Federal policy was for evacuation. He said: "The assumptions and policies of the national program for civil defense may be erroneous, as your Advisory Board assumes, but that is a matter for the President of the United States who promulgated that plan." The bewildered county council turned the matter over to the county manager to work out with Ewing. It seemed that residents of Maryland would have no place to hide . . . In Washington the Defense Dept. said it would ask the Congress for $500,000,000 to insure manufacturers against losses from possible accidents in producing nuclear weapons and missiles.

J. EDGAR HOOVER wrote to **N.Y. Mirror** columnist Lee Mortimer: "I have positive evidence that a concerted campaign is being mounted against us [the FBI] and that no effort will be spared to destroy public confidence in our activities. The Communists and their apologists will stoop to any means, but I have every confidence that the American public is not going to be taken in." . . . Un-hoodwinked apparently was the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers. It conferred honorary membership on Hoover for his "great contributions to humanity and great services to our country." The citation said: "By helping thwart the efforts of those who would destroy our government and our way of life by infiltrating and seizing control of our labor organizations, you have aided . . . the entire labor movement. For this we will be everlastingly in your debt." Al Hayes, president of the Intl. Assn. of Machinists, was not shaken in his confidence either. In honor of Hoover's 64th birthday he sent the FBI chief a telegram congratulating his "outstanding contributions to the science of criminal detection . . . particularly your vigilance in exposing Communist and Nazi subversion." . . . Leo McColligan of Scranton, Pa., was passing the time of day in his apartment in the Valley View Terrace housing development when a voice behind him said: "I'm going to kill you." Without turning around to face his would-be assassin, McColligan jumped from his second-story window. Although scratched and bruised from his fall, he picked himself up and ran to a neighbor's house to call the cops. Later, accompanied by police, he re-entered his apartment. There was no one there, but through the walls they could hear a blazing gun duel coming from the neighbor's TV.

THE BANSHEE'S WAIL
Samuel S. Auchinloss, president of Tracerlab, Inc., in Waltham, Mass., holds the Banshee Radiation Monitor tube he developed. He says it will fit any standard radio or TV receiver and wail a warning when exposed to radioactive fallout. He does not have an invention yet to get rid of the fallout.

FORD MOTOR WORKERS in Doncaster, England, have been complaining about speed-up. They say that since a time-and-motion study was done, they have been pushed too hard and watched too closely. On Jan. 15 they reached the breaking point. Donald Leslie Farr, a trim-line assembler, was caught eating a meat pie five minutes before the official ten-minute morning break. He was fired despite his protests that he continued working while he ate. In protest, 700 workers walked off their jobs. They said they would not come back until Farr was rehired and the afternoon tea break reinstalled . . . D. V. Bliss, director of the export division of Slumberland, Ltd., an English bed manufacturing company, unveiled his company's latest creation: an electrically-heated, hydraulically-adjusted, velvet-padded, mink-covered, tea-making, dry-shaving, tape-recording, vibro-massaging, intercommunicating, telephonic, televisionary, bibliotech, illuminated bed. He said that if Farouk was still king of Egypt, he would certainly buy the bed. But Bliss was not giving up: he said he would leave for Kuwait and Bahrein to see if he could "shake the sheiks." He said he was also sure he could interest some Americans.

—**Robert E. Light**

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the SPECTATOR

Mikoyan and manners

WHEN SOVIET DEPUTY PREMIER MIKOYAN arrived at San Francisco Airport on Jan. 10, a delegation of students from the Starr King School for the Ministry (Unitarian-Universalist) were there to make him welcome. They had been named by a student body impressed by President Eisenhower's request that the American people give Mikoyan a friendly reception.

Eight of the students had prepared a large banner (the painter was a Republican) which said in Russian: "Welcome." Another, in English, read: "The Only Deterrent to War Is International Friendship." They told the police of their intentions and asked protection. The police hustled them back into the crowd.

Nearby, blocking traffic to the main entrance both on the sidewalks and the roads, was a milling crowd of Hungarian refugees, the kind that had met Mikoyan with eggs and profanity and threats all the way across the country. Some wore black masks (out of fear of reprisal back home, they said); others were practicing line maneuvers and yells.

The divinity students unveiled their banners and moved forward. The Hungarians looked on in astonishment; then they began to boo. A flying squad detached itself from the main body of Hungarians, pelted the students with eggs, tore their banners and roughed them up against the railings. An elderly man tried to help them and was mauled. Camera flashbulbs popped. The police, 50 in all, stood and watched ten yards away.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE STUDENT BODY told reporters: "We hoped to encourage the feeling of good will and friendship between the peoples of the United States and the Soviet Union through our welcoming gesture." Asked how the school officials felt about it, he quoted a telegram from Dr. Dana Greely, president of the American Unitarian Association: "Congratulations on your defense of the democratic spirit and decency and brotherhood."

San Francisco Chronicle
They missed Mikoyan—but hit me.

San Francisco was repelled by the venom and the violence of the Hungarians. The letters columns of the newspapers fairly boiled with indignation and shame. The San Francisco **Chronicle** said in an editorial:

"The methods employed cannot be defended: they were worse than futile, for they brought discredit not upon Mikoyan or the Soviet Union but upon the demonstrators themselves, and upon San Francisco and upon the United States of America . . . These demonstrators, it is obvious, need instruction in American ways and traditions."

THERE IS ANOTHER GROUP in America that needs similar instruction. These are the radio and television commentators and inquisitors who are called upon by the manufacturers of toilet paper and detergents, and the networks themselves, to render judgments in our living rooms.

One of the most offensive of these courtroom-like panel interviews is "Meet the Press" (Sunday, NBC), presided over by a wealthy publicist named Lawrence Spivak with the tact and intelligence of a parakeet. On Jan. 18 Mikoyan was Spivak's "guest" in an hour-long program which included these other questioners: Cecil Brown of NBC; Harry Schwartz, the Soviet affairs specialist of the N.Y. **Times**, and Marquis Childs, syndicated columnist.

From the outset it was apparent that the questioners would be satisfied with little less than a denunciation by Mikoyan of the Central Committee of the Communist Party U.S.S.R., and a request for asylum in the U.S. The questions were designed not so much to seek information as to trap Mikoyan into confessions of sin. Mikoyan tried to turn most of the questions into constructive channels and, with dexterity and humor, demonstrated his own grasp of world affairs.

The rudest person was host Spivak. Stung when a piece of his own nastiness boomeranged, he interrupted Mikoyan repeatedly and ended up with a Hungarian editorial in the guise of a question. It ran to the final moment of the program (as Spivak knew it would), depriving Mikoyan of the opportunity to reply.

Once again the discredit was not on Mikoyan but on the demonstrators, even if their violence was intellectual rather than physical.

IN QUITE ANOTHER CATEGORY was the working press which covered Mikoyan's tour. Their reports were full and fair (and admiring) and the admiration was returned by the visitor. Together with the working capitalists of the nation, they seemed to be most impressed with Mikoyan's efforts to melt the cold war down to scrap.

Perhaps we should urge the Hungarians and Spivak and George Meany and the Catholic bishops (who refused to meet Mikoyan) down to Wall Street for a few dialectical lessons in good manners. Or perhaps they would all prefer to go to Moscow and picket the American Embassy for giving Mikoyan a visa.

We're sure the Moscow cops would give them protection against the Ambassador.

—James Aronson